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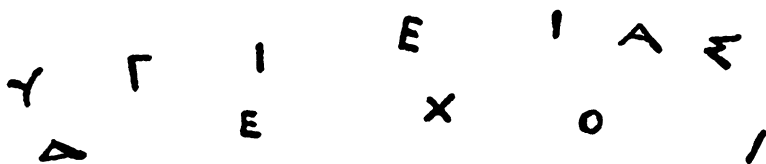
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FIVE INTERESTING GREEK IMPERATIVES.

BY JOHN HENRY WRIGHT.¹

1. ΓΙΕΙ. — On many earlier examples of the Attic drinking-vase known as the cylix — datable² toward the close of the sixth century B.C. — occurs a form of the verb πίνω which has long both tempted and baffled explanation. The form is ΓΙΕΙ,³ and it has imperative

¹ This article could hardly have been written but for Paul Kretschmer's *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* (1894), an admirable and most suggestive book. Though at various points, as will be seen, I take issue with Kretschmer, it has always been with hesitation; and my debt to him, both for the material he has conveniently gathered and for his lucid treatment of it, cannot be understated.

² Many of these vases, all of which are of the black-figured technique, are signed by masters ("Kleinmeister": e.g. Eucheir son of Ergotimus, Tleson son of Nearchus, Phrynus, Sacontides) whose work is contemporaneous with that of the immediate predecessors of Euphronius; the activity of the latter must now be dated between 510 B.C. and 470 B.C. Cf. Furtwängler, *Arch. Anz.* VI, 1891, p. 70; P. Gardner, *Ashmolean Vases*, p. 8.

³ The form ΓΙΕΙ, which occurs on a fragment of a pinax from the "Perserschutt" of the Athenian acropolis (ἐτι τι πει), and twice on a cylix in the Gregorian Museum in Rome (χαίρε καὶ πει), is only an apparent exception. Perhaps we should write it π'εἰ (not π(δ)ει): see below, p. 93, note.

The only early example of πει on vases known to me is on a cylix by [Eucheir] 'the son of Ergotimus,' χαίρε καὶ πει (Klein, *M. S.*² p. 72). Klein (*ib.*, p. 46) is wrong in writing χαίρε καὶ πει on an oenochoë by Taleides; both Brunn (*Bull. di Inst.* 1845, p. 37) and Gerhard (*Auserl. Vasenb.* IV, 316) read πει (ΞΕΙΓ).

A late example, probably of the third century B.C., if not later, is πει καὶ μὴ δέψα· ἕσσαις on a Boeotian oenochoë (Berlin, no. 4087): the letters ε, δ, σ, α are of the late cursive form (Ε, C, etc.). Kretschmer transcribes πει καὶ μὴ δέχα· ἕσσαις (p. 5, note 1), probably by a typographical error: the Boeotian epichoric alphabet, in which ψ had the value of χ, can hardly have been used at a date so

force: it is commonly used in the formula *χαῖρε καὶ πείε*, with or without modifiers.¹ The vase itself, or a person with the vase in his hand, appears to be addressing a second person, the recipient of the vase, wishing him health and inviting him, often with much urgency and cordiality, to drink of its contents.² The form seems not to be found except on or in connexion with drinking-vases: hence it probably meant something a little different from the *πείε* and *πίθι* usual in literature.

Before we proceed to criticise the explanations hitherto offered, and to suggest our own, there are two determining factors in the question that should be clearly set forth. (1) Inasmuch as the ending is always written -EI and not -E, it is evident — since the alphabet

late as that of this vase. For the juxtaposition of *πίνω* and *διδύμεθα* compare Her-
mippus, *δραν πινώμεθα ἢ διδύμεθα* (*Fragm.* 25 Kock I. p. 230).

¹ Kretschmer gives the references (pp. 195, 196, 238). The various forms of the phrase thus far registered are: *χαῖρε καὶ πείε*, *χαῖρε καὶ πείε εὖ* (once written *χαῖρε καὶ πει*), *χαῖρε σὺ καὶ πείε εὖ*, *σὺ χαῖρε καὶ πείε εὖ τοι*, *χαῖρε καὶ πείε τήνδε*, *χαῖρε καὶ πείε νῆ Δί*, *χαῖρε καὶ πείε μὴν* (*ν*)*αίχι* (Brit. Mus. B. 424; in virtue of *χαῖρε μὴν* on the reverse of this cylix, I read as above rather than *χαῖρε καὶ πείε με ναίχι*, which has hitherto been read: cf. *εὖγε ναίχι* on a vase of Euthymides, Klein *M.S.* p. 196. 6). Other forms are *χαῖρε καὶ πλου ἐμέ* (once), *χαῖρει καὶ πια τήνδε* (twice, on the same vase, in Dresden: *Arch. Anz.* IV, 1889, p. 170), *πίνε κ(α)λ χα(ι)ρε* (once, on a cylix in St. Petersburg: cf. Klein *L. I.* p. 27), and *χαῖρε καὶ ΓΙΟΓΘΙ* (a confusion of *πλου* + *π(ι)θι*: Kretschmer, p. 238).

² On a cylix bearing the pet-name Dioxippus, and showing the influence of the earlier style of the school of Euphronius, two nude women are figured reclining on cushions and facing each other. The one on the left is blowing the double pipes; the one on the right is extending to her a cylix; while in the field are the words *πίνε καὶ σὺ* (retrograde). Cf. Klein *L. I.* p. 45 (fig.). The motif of this scene is anticipated on the archaic black-figured oenochœ by Taleides, mentioned above (p. 85, note; see below, p. 93). Here a naked man is seated on a stone at the left, facing to the right and blowing the double pipes; on the right, facing this figure, and likewise seated, is the naked god Dionysus (inscription), who holds on his knees a scyphus without handles (inscribed *Καλ(λ)ίας κα(λ)ός*), to which he appears to be pointing as he says *χαῖρε καὶ πείε*; the letters, written retrograde, are on the red ground between the two figures.—The poet Callias (*Fragm.* 6 Kock, *ap.* Athen. XI, 486 F) represents a person saying *δέξαι τῇνδὲ μετανιπτρίδα τῆς Ὑγίας*, and Athenaeus explains that the *μετάνιπτρον* (*μετανιπτρίς*) was a cylix presented after the dinner, evidently at the beginning of the symposium. On the Berlin cantharus (no. 2872), discussed below, p. 90, between the words *ὕγιεας* and *δέχοι* one may imagine the vase supplied, as it were, speaking itself.

consistently used in the inscriptions on these vases is the Old Attic — that the diphthong is a genuine one, in which the *-ι* was an original element (*-ε + ι*), and not the ‘spurious’ diphthong; hence *-ει* cannot have arisen from contraction (*-ε + ε*). (2) The form not only has imperative force, as the context shows, but is an actual imperative. In *Etymologicum Magnum* 698. 51 (cf. Bergk *P.L.G.*⁴ III, p. 170) we read: *Ἔστι καὶ ῥῆμα προστακτικὸν παρὰ Αἰολέουσιν· οἶον χαῖρε καὶ πῶι,¹ ὅπερ λέγεται . . . σύμποθι. Of course χαῖρε καὶ πῖει and χαῖρε καὶ πῶι are identical in nature. Further: on a cylix in the British Museum (Walters, B. 414: *C.I.G.* IV, 8103) occurs the variant χαῖρε καὶ ΓΙΟ ἐμέ, in which we recognize πῖον, the imperative middle. The expressions πῖνε καὶ χαῖρε,² πῖνε καὶ σύ, along with χαῖρε σύ, occasionally found on these vases, and the custom of using the imperative in invitations to drink, so abundantly illustrated in Athenaeus X, 446, in quotations from Antiphanes, Cratinus, Diphilus, Ameipsias, Menander and Alexis, furnish additional proof, if such were needed, that our form is an imperative.

Most of the former explanations³ do not satisfy one or the other of these two fundamental conditions, and for this reason, if for no other, need only be stated to be dismissed:—

1. Panofka (*Musée Blacas*, p. 48) sees in the form ΓΙΕΙ the second person of the future indicative.

2. The author of the note on *C.I.G.* IV, 8096 (Franz?), remarks, concerning the form, “ex pronuntiatione peculiari explicandum videtur, quod fere scribitur ΓΙΕΙ pro ΓΙΕ, quae vulgo pro forma poetica habetur, nisi mavis πῖει pro futuro habere.” But an explanation based on a peculiar pronunciation⁴ can hardly commend itself to scholars of the present generation.

¹ According to Bergk the reading is χαῖρε καὶ πῶ τάνδε, but the Florentine manuscript of the *Etym. Magnum* (E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque*, p. 268, cited by Bergk) gives here χαῖρε καὶ πῶι τάνδε, which as the more difficult reading should be retained.

² Panofka, quoted by Jahn (*Einleitung*, p. CXI), cites Alexis to show that χαῖρε was used with the invitation to drink, χαῖρετ' ἄνδρες συμπτώται | θσων ἀγαθῶν τὴν κύλικα μεστήν πλομαι (*Fragm.* 111 Kock, *ap.* Athen. VI, 254 A).

³ Cf. Kretschmer, pp. 195, 196.

⁴ The χαῖρει (for χαῖρε) on the Dresden vase mentioned above, p. 86, n. 1, is perhaps a blunder (note πῖα for πῖον?), unless indeed the final letter contains an

3. Roscher (*Curtius Studien* IV, pp. 194-6), — whom Curtius follows (*Verbum*², I, p. 383), — sees in the word a present imperative formed by contraction on the shorter stem $\pi\epsilon\epsilon$: i.e. $\Gamma\text{IEI} = * \pi\epsilon\epsilon + \epsilon$.

4. Hardly more satisfactory than the foregoing is the explanation of Bergk (*Jahrb. f. Philol.* CXVII, p. 195), according to which $\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ has arisen from $*\pi\epsilon\epsilon\theta\iota$.

5. Kretschmer in 1888 (*Kuhns Zeitschrift* XXIX, p. 481) explained the form as the second person aorist subjunctive middle ($= \pi\epsilon\eta$). But in his book on *Vaseninschriften* (1894) he abandons this view, remarking "man erwartet in unmittelbarer Verbindung mit $\chi\alpha\upsilon\rho\epsilon$ einen Imperativ," and accepts as satisfactory ("annehmbar") the explanation of W. Schulze cited in our next paragraph.

6. W. Schulze (*Quaestiones Epicae*, p. 388, n. 3) separates ΓIEI into two elements, $\pi\epsilon' + \epsilon\iota$ ($\pi\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota$), the second being the particle $\epsilon\iota$, known to us in the Homeric formula $\epsilon\iota\delta' \alpha\gamma\epsilon$ (cf. $\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, Hom. *I*, 262), in which he sees an ancient imperative of the root $-i$, 'go,' and would therefore regularly write $\epsilon\iota$. While this explanation is brilliant, it seems to me that the unusual, though not wholly unexampled, position of this new and hypothetical imperative — after the verb, and with no connective — makes it somewhat doubtful. Besides, this explanation does not account for $\pi\omega\iota$ (not to speak of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\iota$ and $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\iota$) which cannot be separated from $\pi\epsilon\epsilon$.

It is with diffidence that I venture to propose a new explanation, although it is one that appears to satisfy all the conditions. The final $-i$ in ΓIEI perhaps represents the demonstrative suffix $-i$, which is so frequently used in familiar Attic speech¹ appended to pronouns and adverbs in the sense 'here,' 'herefrom,' like Latin $-ce$. Thus $\chi\alpha\upsilon\rho\epsilon$ καὶ $\pi\epsilon\epsilon$ would mean 'Hail and drink *herefrom*' ('Here's to you! Take a drink!'), a special emphasis and a distinctive meaning being thus given to the second verb.

This suffix $-i$ was a floating suffix in Attic Greek, and as such must have been felt as a distinct word though not written separately.

intended anticipation of the $-i$ demonstrativum normally appended, according to my view, to $\pi\epsilon$ at the end of this phrase.

¹ For obvious reasons $-i$ demonstrativum is not frequent on the stones: cf. Meisterhans, *Gramm.*² p. 116. — It is not confined to the Attic dialect; Blass-Kühner, *Ausf. Gramm.* I, p. 620, n. 3, where Boeotian $\tau\omega\iota$ ($\tau\omega\iota$, $\tau\omega\iota'$) = $\omega\iota\delta\epsilon$ is cited.

Thus we have *αὐτῇ, οὐτοσί, τουτί* δέ and *τουτοδί, τηνδί, νυνί, ᾠδί*, etc. The treatment of final vowels before it shows that it was felt as a separate word: a short vowel is elided (**τοῦτ' ἴ*, written *τουτί*) and a long vowel is shortened. As a virtually independent word there is no reason why it should not have been attached to a verb,¹ as well as to pronouns and adverbs, any more than that the particles *τοι, μέν, μὴν, δέ*, to which it has many points of resemblance, should not have been thus attached. Indeed in the form *πῶι*, cited above, we have what seems to me a clear though hitherto unrecognized example of such a connexion, an example of striking interest; and, if my reasoning be sound, we have additional examples in the *ΔΕΧΟΙ* and perhaps in the *δίδοι* discussed below. That this *-ι* demonstrativum was in use on vases is seen in *τοῖ (= σοῖ) τηνδί*² *Εὐθυμίδη* (*sc. λατάσσω*), written on a red-figured hydria in the Munich collection (Jahn, no. 6) near the picture of a cylix in the extended hand of a woman playing the cottabus. Some of the variants of the simple formula *χαῖρε καὶ πεί* seem to show that the sense given to the last word was more than that of *πέ* alone (*πίον ἐμέ, πεί τήνδε*, etc.; *πεί τήνδε = πέ τηνδί*?). The objection that in Attic Greek, when this suffix follows a short vowel, the vowel is elided (*τουτοδί*, not **τουτοδέ*), and that we should therefore, on this theory, have had **πί*, not *πέ*, is not as strong an objection as at first appears. We are by no means certain that *τουτοδί*, for example, may not once have been written **τουτοδέ*. It is only the rules of poetic euphony that require a consistent obliteration of hiatus after the short syllable. This suffix, when we note the freedom with which in these inscriptions other particles and the oblique cases of pronouns follow it, may not have received, when once it became a recognized form, as strong an emphasis as it had when appended to pronouns and adverbs, and thus did not cause the disappearance of the preceding vowel, but coalescing with it formed a diphthong. Hence, — even with *πῶι* before me, — I do not accent *πιέ*, preferring on the whole *πεί*.

¹ Compare *ec-ce* in Latin, perhaps from a verbal root (*oc-ulus*); *voici* in French (*vois + ci*); '*Sel 'ere*' in colloquial English.

² The final letter of this word is an *-ι*, not *-ε*. Cf. Röhl *I. G. A.* 2.

2. ΔΕΧΟΙ. — On a red-figured cantharus (a drinking-cup) of 'the late fine style' in the Berlin Museum (Furtwängler, no. 2872) occur the words given in facsimile as the heading of this article, — a wish and an invitation of especial appropriateness in the present volume, — ὑγείας ΔΕΧΟΙ. Furtwängler transliterates ὑγείας δέχου. But the last letter, if we may rely on Furtwängler's very carefully executed facsimile, cannot be an Y nor a piece of an Y, as appears on comparing this letter as written at the beginning of the first word. It can only be an I. The transliteration, therefore, that I would offer is ὑγείας δεχονί, in which ου, the spurious diphthong, represents o of the original. 'To your health: ¹ receive it hence.'

This vase is of a class or group which Furtwängler places in the third century B.C. (*Arch. Anz.* VI, 1891, p. 119), when as a rule ου would have been written with OY, not with O. But Meisterhans has cited instances on Attic inscriptions,² as late as the close of the fourth century B.C., of o = ου, and to this list I venture to add our form. The letters have, it may be noted, the characteristics of fourth century writing rather than of the next century. This inscription is certainly older by several decades than the ΨΙΛΙΑC (φιλιās) inscriptions occurring on other vases which Furtwängler includes in the same group.

3. ΔΙΔΟΙ. — In several passages in Pindar³ and in an inscription on a fragment of a Corinthian tablet (Röhl, *I. G. A.* 20, 62 = Furtwängler, *Berlin Vasens.* 946; cf. *I. G. A.* 20, 63 = *Berlin Vasens.* 453, where we have δός) occurs a very difficult imperative of the verb δίδωμι, in the form δίδοι (Pindar), or [δῖ]δοι, which appears to have no clear analogues. Now we have seen that πῶι (πῶ + ι) is a legitimate Aeolic form, and, bearing in mind the peculiar sense of δίδοι in all these locutions, 'bestow here' (cf. Latin *cedo* from *ce + da*), it is perhaps not too venturesome to urge that in this form also there is a trace of an -ι demonstrativum (? δίδοι < *διδοῖ < *διδοῖ-ι < *διδουί).

¹ For the genitive compare Alexis (*Fragm.* 111 Kock, *ap.* Athen. VI, 254 A), φέρε τὸν τρίτον [*sc.* κύαθον] | Φίλιας Ἀφροδίτης; Callias, as cited on p. 86, n. 2; Nicostratus (*Fragm.* 19 Kock, *ap.* Athen. XV, 693 A), λαβέ τῆς ὑγείας δὴ σύ.

² *Gramm.*² p. 21, n. 119 (*C. I. A.* II, 809, many times; 325 B.C.).

³ Pindar, *Ol.* i. 87, vi. 104, vii. 89, xiii. 100, *Nem.* v. 50. Compare Pindar's δίδοι . . . αἰδολίαν χάριν (*Ol.* vii. 89) and the [δῖ]δοι χαλρεσ(σ)αν ἀφορμάν of the Corinthian tablet. — See also Blass-Kühner, *Ausf. Gramm.* II, p. 45.

4. >EΛIΘ.—On a black-figured amphora from Orvieto (published by Maass, *Ann. di Inst.* 1882, Pl. H., pp. 58 ff.) are the words

2 3 1 1 0 3 4 1 4 X 0 v 3 8 0 v 4

On one side of the vase is a naked bearded man with a tripod on his head; on the other a bearded warrior, with shield and spear.¹ Maass explains the figures as Heracles and Iolaus, and refers the inscription not to the figures but to the vase itself, which as it were addresses the purchaser, saying δὺ ὀβελῶ καὶ με θίγεις, 'duo oboli e mi prendi.' The last five letters of the inscription, however, cannot be read θίγεις, not only because θίγεις would have been written >EΛIΘ, nor because an imperative is here looked for, but chiefly because this stem of the verb is an aorist stem, and would not form an indicative in -εις. For the first of these reasons, if for no other, θίγεις is also out of the question.

Whatever may be the explanation of the figures—and it is by no means certain that the figures on the two sides of the vase belong together, or that they represent mythological persons—it seems probable, especially since the inscription is at some distance from the figures, that these words do not refer to the scene but to the vase. Kretschmer accordingly suggests, but without conviction of the correctness of his reading, καὶ μ' ἔθιγες.

Should we not, however, read δὺ ὀβελῶ² καὶ με θίγες. '[give] two obols and take me'? In this case θίγες, an aorist second person imperative, would be an accession to the interesting but puzzling group of imperatives in -ες (Brugmann's 'injunctives') formed on the weak stem, such as ἔς, θές, -φρές, σχές, ἐνισπες. Cf. ἄγες· ἄγε, φέρε in Hesychius. θιγγάνω is also peculiar in having an imperative form θίγον.³

Two obols as the price of an amphora would at first sight seem to be too small. A cabbage costs only that amount in Alexis (*Fragm.*

¹ Kretschmer, pp. 91, 92.

² On ὀβελός for ὀβολός the coin, cf. Kretschmer, p. 117. *Etym. Magn.*, s. ὀβελίσκος.

³ Cf. Blass-Kühner, *Ausf. Gramm.* II, p. 45.

15. 8 Kock), and two obols is sometimes used to connote the idea of extreme cheapness, like "two cents" in the American expression "It is n't worth two cents." On the other hand, on the evidence of graffiti inscribed on the bottom of a considerable number of vases, probably by the seller of the vases, we may safely infer that two obols would not have been an unusual sum for a small amphora like ours. R. Schöne (*Commentt. . . Mommsen.*, pp. 650-2) has shown that four obols was an average charge for a crater: on each of three craters, — in Paris, London and Vienna respectively, — six craters are listed as valued at four drachmae (twenty-four obols). Our amphora is both smaller and less ornate than a crater, and may well have cost half as much, especially if offered as a bargain.

5. ΓΙΕΙΣ. — On both sides of a cylix in the Munich collection (Jahn, no. 39), which belongs to the same group as the vases mentioned above on p. 85, this form, preceded by *χαῖρε καί*, occurs. By Roscher, Bergk, Schulze and others, this has been taken as a blunder for *πίει σ[ύ]*, which is a possible phrase: compare *χαῖρε σὺ, πῖνε καὶ σὺ*, etc. But, as Kretschmer points out (p. 196), although blunders and deviations from usage occur on vases, since vase-inscriptions are almost never cut short and since this inscription in particular is carefully repeated on two sides of the vase, the spelling *πίεις* would seem to have been intended. Hence Kretschmer does not hesitate to adopt this reading, and is disposed to view the form as an expanded imperative in -ς formed upon *πίει*, of the class mentioned in the previous paragraph.

But if my explanation of *πίει* be correct, and the last syllable contains an element more or less emphatic, it is not impossible that in *πίει σὺ* the final vowel should have been so clipped or slurred in pronunciation as to cause it to be omitted in a phonetically written inscription (*πίει σ'*). Similarly we find in final -σεν of *ἐποίησεν* the vowel so slurred that the word is more than once¹ written ΕΠΟΙΕΣΝ (cf. 'Αθήνηθν). On the oenochoë, mentioned on pp. 85, 86, signed

¹ For *ἐποίησεν* and 'Αθήνηθν cf. Kretschmer, p. 124, who cites the *τάρων βολῶν* (for *τεττάρων ὀβολῶν*) of the fishmonger in Amphis (*Fragm.* 30 Kock, *ap.* Athen. VI, 224 D).

by Taleides,¹ >OI>H OIΔ is read (Διον'σιος), where even an accented syllable appears to have vanished. Note also, on a cylix in Munich (Jahn, no. 27), the abbreviated form NEΔI, νῆ Δί' for νῆ Δία.

¹ Klein *M.S.*² p. 47; Gerhard *A.V.* IV, 316. Διονόσιος as a variant form of Διδύσσιος is sometimes found (K. Keil *Onom.* p. 25; *C.I.G.* I, 314). It is possible, however, that in this Διονόσιος the ι — erroneously placed after instead of before σ — stands for υ. For ι = υ in Διδύσσιος, cf. Kretschmer, p. 119. Other examples of transpositions of letters, both in manuscripts and in inscriptions, are registered by W. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae*, p. 247, n. 4.

It may be that the πει and πευ, cited above, pp. 85, 86, are not blunders, but are attempts to give the pronunciation (π'ει and π'ευ).